1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

helmets of bullhide were worn in battle. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:147) reports use of a shield of hides sewn together. Fighting was unorganized, of the individualistic pattern, with much use of surprise and ambush.

Captives were taken, especially women and children. There was no torture of prisoners. Cannibalism—avengeful, gastronomic, magical, or other—was absent.

Mercy killing occurred in the form of premature interment, in some cases where hope of recovery had been given up (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 56–57). The useless were sometimes abandoned when the band had to be on the move (D'Orbigny, 1935–47, 2:190).

ECONOMIC CULTURE

Ownership.—On land tenure, see supra under Political Life. Ownership of personal property by male and female children, from infancy, was distinctly recognized (Musters, 1871, p. 177). Currency was absent. Barter was common, with other Indian groups and with Whites. Barter by exchange of presents, or something very much like it, occurred (Musters, 1871, pp. 155–156, 242–243). The property of a person was usually buried with him or burned at his death, so there was not much, if any, acquisition of property by inheritance. The *Tehuelche* are reported to have been very honest among themselves. The killers of guanacos and ostriches had certain prior rights to specified parts thereof, but game food was customarily shared generously with others.

Labor.—A woman who made a skin mantle for a bachelor might expect some compensation (Musters, 1871, p. 171). Captives sometimes were kept in sort of drudge slavery (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:153; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 237).

Men's chief tasks were: Hunting, fighting, breaking and training horses, making saddles, harness, lassos, and pipe bowls, and doing most of the work of silversmithing. Women's chief tasks were: Caring for the children and the toldo, fetching wood and water, cooking and preparing food, caring for the impedimenta on the move, dressing, sewing, and painting skins, making clothing, and weaving fillets.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth and infancy.—All statements on birth, infancy, and education here refer to the later *Tehuelche*.

Shortly after birth the child was smeared with damp gypsum (Musters, 1871, p. 176). According to Moreno (1879, pp. 445–446), marital abstinence was practiced from conception until about a year after birth. Prichard (1902, p. 92) states that children's heads were

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

place at the settlement between Gonzalez and Antonio, in 574
which the latter had been killed or mortally wounded, and 273
the former had escaped to the Pampas, but had subsequently been captured and taken as a prisoner in the schooner to Buenos Ayres; and other news of trivial importance. Meanwhile the grog was fast disappearing, and the pot had to be replenished. This in turn was about half-emptied by the time the other Indians and women arrived, and Jackechan, very inebriated, was vowing eternal friendship to me, while Tchang was howling in my other ear a lovely Tehuelche ditty. As I had drunk in moderation, I thought it about time to clear, so, on the plea of looking after my horse, retired and re-read my letters, which any one may imagine, although not coming from my relations, were of great interest. After my departure no more liquor was given away, El Sourdo selling two bottles for a young horse or a [437]
silver-sheathed knife, so that he soon found himself a rich man. By midnight all the liquor was exhausted and many drunk, but no disturbances occurred worthy of mention, all arms having previously been stowed away safely. I was roused from my first sleep by a lady from a neighbouring toldo, who wished to embrace me, and, with feminine curiosity wanted to know the contents of my letters. She was, I am sorry to say, in an advanced stage of intoxication, so after giving her a smoke, Orkeke, who had roused up and was dying of laughter, politely showed her the door. Most of the party went out hunting in the morning, the ride no doubt proving beneficial to those suffering from headache, though little game was killed; but the Sourdo, whom I had joined in a morning bowl of coffee, remained at home, as his horses were very much used up, one of his boys going on a friend's mount to procure meat. For four days after this 782
drinking bout we did nothing but slaughter and eat mares, somebody's child having been slightly hurt in some manner. Although I have read in various books that the Indians have a religious festival at which mares are slaughtered as a

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

stant he felt the unwonted incumbrance he buck-jumped for 231
several yards, finally jumping into the middle of the brook and nearly losing his footing. I spurred him out, and once on the bank he commenced to whirl round and round like a teetotum. At last I got his head straight, and after a few more buck-jumps he went off at a racing speed, urged by whip and spur. After a stretching gallop of three miles, I rode him quietly back, now and again turning him to accustom him to the bridle-thong, but not venturing to feel his mouth, and then brought him up to the toldo amidst the shouts of the spectators. Orkeke expressed great surprise, and wanted 437
to know where I had learned to 'domar'; and the gratified owner insisted on presenting me with a piece of tobacco. This was most welcome, as my store was almost exhausted, though it had been replenished occasionally by the possessors of guns and revolvers in return for my services in putting the locks to rights; and the fear of being left tobaccoless—the agony of which all smokers will appreciate —was becoming unpleasantly strong. The following day 136
we bade adieu to the lagoon, which, as usual, was covered with swans and other wild-fowl, which we never molested, husbanding our powder in the event of future disturbances with other Indians. We marched a few miles, and en- 000
camped near the river—indeed, on its very banks, under the shadows of the trees. Here we passed our time away hunting, bathing in the stream, smoking, and lying in the shade for three days. One of my horses being lame, I could not hunt every day, so frequently passed hours under the trees by the river, scrubbing my one remaining shirt for future use, and working hide, &c. As writing in the toldo was made almost impossible by the curiosity of the children, crowding round me and asking questions, I generally used to take my note-book to my retreat; here, however, I was often interrupted by the girls, who came on the pretence of bathing, and evinced great playful curiosity as to the contents of my book—for here, too, I used to peruse and re-

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

and yellow lines is painted with the greatest exactness, the women working all day with the most assiduous industry. When completed it is left for a night to dry, and the other half and wings, which serve in lieu of sleeves, are duly completed, and subsequently all are joined together, presenting, when finished, an unbroken surface of fur. The most favourite pattern (except when the wearer is in mourning) is a red ground with small black crosses and blue and yellow longitudinal lines for borders, or with a zigzag of white, blue, and red. The untiring energy with which the women work, and the rapidity with which they sew, are astonishing. When a man is married, his wife, or wives, of course manufacture his mantles, assisted by their friends, whom they help in their turn; but should he be a bachelor, as in my unfortunate case, he gives out his skins to a fair lady, who works like other people I have heard of—on half-profits, and the hunter generally loses by the bargain; at least such was my experience, some thirty or forty skins only producing a mantle containing about one-third their number. Besides the guanaco mantles which are most generally worn, others are made from the skins of the fox, puma, wild cat, cavy, and skunk; the fur of the latter and of the wild cat are the most valuable, but, like the others, are generally intended only for barter. The women, besides making mantles, weave the fillets for the head previously mentioned, from threads of unravelled stuff obtained in barter at the settlements, or from their Araucanian neighbours. They work on the same principle as that on which a sailor constructs a sword mat. Besides these fillets, they occasionally weave scarves for the waist, and garters. Many of them also work in the minor details of silver ornaments, such as hollowing out or bending the studs, boring the holes, and stitching them on to the belts or armour, as the case may be. They also sew the skins together for the coverings of the toldos, which is very laborious work. They scrape and dress horse-hides for the furniture of the bed-places, painting them in various pat-

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

060 returned early in the forenoon, with a large number of sea-fowl. Not long after, Captain Brownell announced his intention to go ashore, and commenced making preparations. He soon changed his mind, however, and asked me to go, in his stead, to procure some fresh provisions, if they were to be had. Knowing, from the reports of whalers and others, something of the savage character of the natives, I felt reluctant to venture; but afterwards, to oblige the captain, I complied.

609 Taking our guns, a bag of bread, and some tobacco, four of us started for the shore. As we approached the beach, a crowd of black-looking giants came to the water's edge to gaze at us. We did not particularly fancy their looks, and lay on our oars for a considerable length of time. A recollection of the many ugly stories current about the Patagonians, their barbarous and cruel character, did not greatly fortify our confidence, or make us especially anxious for a personal acquaintance with them. We accordingly lay off in our boat, and, hailing them in Spanish, asked them if they had eggs, fowls, and beef. They replied, in broken Spanish, that they had plenty at their houses. I told them to produce their stores, and they should have plenty of bread in exchange. We parleyed with them for some time, till our boat at length touched the shore. I stood in the boat's stern, gun in hand, endeavoring to keep the natives from stealing, and warned the men not to leave the boat. They jumped ashore, promising not to stray from the spot. The Indians offered some skins for sale, which I paid for in bread. While my attention was diverted from them by this barter, the Indians were coaxing my men away. I looked about, and found only

• [437]